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Title: Ludicity of the culture of urban consumerist society

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Citation style: Szalbot Magdalena. (2011). Ludicity of the culture of urban consumerist society. W: H. Rusek (red.), "Dilemmas of old and contemporary culture in ethnographical and antropological discourse" (S. 83-91). Cieszyn : University of Silesia in Katowice



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LUDICITY OF THE CULTURE OF URBAN CONSUMERIST SOCIETY²⁴⁵

Jan Grad and Hanna Mamzer make an apt remark that: *In the contemporary humanistic reflection, many different diagnoses are made of the current condition of culture, depending on the applied cognitive perspective (...)*²⁴⁶. What has become a frequent perspective and an important element of anthropological discourse recently is the consumerist and ludic nature of modern culture²⁴⁷. *The observed (...) common hedonistic tendencies, associated with entertainment, make many researchers promote the thesis that the consumerist ideal of 'great fun' is becoming the reality, which allows for justified references to 'the ludicity of modern culture' (...)*.²⁴⁸

In Ryszard Kantor's opinion, a growing significance of entertainment in the life of consumerist societies can be indicated by referring to various aspects of contemporary culture. According to the same author, one of the four²⁴⁹ major factors which enable assessing the degree of ludicity of each culture is *the number of fun-related situ-*

245 Selected excerpts of this article come from another text of mine: *Homo ludens w przestrzeni współczesnego miasta*. „Studia Etnologiczne i Antropologiczne”. I. Bukowska-Floreńska (ed.): *Problemy Społeczno – kulturowe współczesnego miasta*, Vol. 11. Katowice 2010, pp. 222-236 (in print).

246 J. Grad, H. Mamzer: *Wprowadzenie*. [In:] J. Grad, H. Mamzer (eds): *Ludyczny wymiar kultury*. Poznań 2004, p. 7.

247 See e.g.: G. Ritzer: *Magiczny świat konsumpcji*. Warszawa 2001; T. Szlendak: *Supemarketyzacja. Religia i obyczaje seksualne młodzieży w kulturze konsumpcyjnej*. Wrocław 2004; G. Makowski: *Świątynia konsumpcji. Geneza i społeczne znaczenie centrum handlowego*. Warszawa 2003; J. Grad, H. Mamzer (eds): *Karnawalizacja. Tendencje ludyczne w kulturze współczesnej*. Poznań 2004; J. Grad, H. Mamzer (eds): *Kultura przyjemności. Rozważania kulturoznawcze*. Poznań 2005.

248 J. Grad, H. Mamzer: *Wprowadzenie*. [In:] *Ludyczny wymiar kultury...*, p. 7.

249 The other factors are: 1) 'social reach and availability of entertainment', 2) 'the amount of fun – the amount of time spent on entertainment' and 3) 'the quality of entertainment'. See: R. Kantor: *Zabawa w społeczeństwie konsumpcyjnym*. „Zabawy i Zabawki”, 4/2006, No 1-4/2006, p. 77.

ations, the number of places (spaces) of entertainment, and the number of its forms²⁵⁰. As R. Kantor states, in the consumerist society (which seems to be more and more fun-oriented) *the ingenuity of individuals, informal groups, and institutions is being intensified in the field of promoting both the space of entertainment and the multiplication of its forms*²⁵¹. The same researcher even claims that: *It can be stated with certain exaggeration that almost the whole space in which consumerist society lives becomes/seems to become a huge playground, a ludic expanse, a glittering world of countless forms of entertainment*²⁵².

As many researchers suggest, the most favourable conditions for the development of entertainment-oriented consumerist communities are provided by the urban environment. Grażyna E. Karpińska notices that: *In the world of consumption, experiencing and maximizing pleasure (...) take place, among other things, in particular and especially designed spaces – and a multitude and variety of such areas are offered by the town*²⁵³. Also the previously mentioned J. Grad, providing examples of (mostly urban) places which enable the consumption of entertainment, states that: *Post-modern homo ludens aims at ceaseless ‘being at the high’ (...) blurring in this way (...) the borderline between the reality and the world of fun (...). This is possible owing to easily accessible domestic and public technical means, amusement devices in special centres of ludic activity (theme parks, i.e. Disneyland, funfairs, amusement arcades, casinos, discotheques, clubs, pubs, etc.), as well as owing to some sale institutions (...), that is department stores, hypermarkets, shopping exhibitions*²⁵⁴. Bohdan Jałowicki is of a similar opinion: *The place which offers the best possibilities for consumption in general, and for entertainment in particular, is the town – and first of all - the metropolis*²⁵⁵. While analyzing the transformations of modern towns, the same sociologist remarks that: *The town (...) becomes (...) more and more a ludic space (...)*²⁵⁶. According to B. Jałowicki, the ludic spaces developing in contemporary cities are mostly places of entertainment and culture. Currently, they more and more frequently occupy these areas of towns which used to be linked with the production sector. Besides places of traditional entertainment (i.e.: restaurants, cabarets, cinemas, theatres, museums), contemporary urban people, who generate the demand for attractions of different type, contribute to establishing new ludic spaces (e.g. shopping malls, theme parks, and historical monuments or industrial sites transformed into the object of *mass tourist consumption*²⁵⁷). Jałowicki indicates that culture and entertainment is a current

250 Ibid., p.77.

251 Ibid., p.79.

252 Ibid., p.79.

253 G. E. Karpińska: *O centrach handlowo-rozrywkowych – nowych, ludycznych przestrzeniach w postindustrialnym mieście*. "Zabawy i Zabawki", 5/2007, No. 1-4/2007, pp. 47-48.

254 J. Grad: *Problem karnawalizacji kultury współczesnej*. [In:] *Ludyczny wymiar kultury...*, p. 18.

255 B. Jałowicki: *Przestrzeń ludyczna – nowe obszary metropolii*. "Studia Regionalne i Lokalne", 3 (21), Warszawa 2005, p. 6.

256 Ibid., p.7.

257 Ibid., p.6.

“town-creating force”²⁵⁸. The urban consumerist society, interested in cultural and entertainment services of high quality, intensifies the rivalry among particular urban centres, which compete in the field of opening new ludic spaces²⁵⁹.

Big cities provide the highest number of examples illustrating the changes in the quantity and forms of ludic spaces. However, the legitimacy of the opinion that the ludicity of consumerist societies' culture is increasing can be justified by examples of entertainment places available in smaller towns or even in non-urban areas. Besides a few studies²⁶⁰, the issue of both urban and non-urban ludic spaces is not frequently discussed in expert literature. That is why it is still worth asking what information the quantity, quality and types of ludic spaces provide about modern culture and consumerist society. What also seems appropriate is the reflection on what other forms of ludic space (apart from most frequently analyzed in this context shopping and entertainment centres or theme parks) can manifest the increasing significance of fun in everyday life of consumerist societies. Thus, the presented article aims at exploring the issue of the ludicity of consumerist societies' culture from the perspective of ludic spaces in towns of various sizes.

Urban ludic spaces

Almost in all historical times and at all latitudes, the town has been the space abundant in entertainment and enjoyment places. Their wide choice has resulted from specific (for the town) socio-cultural processes and the general style of urban life. What appeared as a side effect of the rhythm and pace of urban life was the concentration (in the urbanized space) of various specialized, sometimes illegal or very 'strange' ludic spaces. Contemporary social and civilization transformations have enhanced this orientation towards the constant search for new places of good entertainment

258 Ibid., p.11.

259 Ibid., pp. 6-13.

260 See e.g.: G. E. Karpińska: *O centrach handlowo-rozrywkowych...*, op. cit; T. Michalewski: *Studenci Opola w ludycznych przestrzeniach miasta (wprowadzenie do tematu)*. „Zabawy i Zabawki”, 5/2007, No. 1-4 /2007, pp. 89-102; G. Odoj: *Przestrzeń ludyczna małego miasta i jej przemiany – przykład Sławkowa*. „Zabawy i Zabawki”, 3, No. 1, 1999, pp. 143-152; R. Kantor: *Poważnie i na niby. Szkice o zabawach i zabawkach*. Kielce 2003, pp. 68-69; D. Mroczkowska: *Ludyczność czasu wolnego – opinie, oceny, refleksje na temat współczesnego wypoczynku, zabaw i rozrywek*. [In:] *Karnawalizacja...*, pp. 125-136; M. Nieszczerzewska: *Umiejscowiona rozrywka*. [In:] *Karnawalizacja...*, pp. 61-79; J. Isański: *Turystyka ekstremalna – poszukiwanie utraconej autentyczności podróżowania*. [In:] *Karnawalizacja...*, pp. 51-60; A. Woźniak: *Turystyka jako forma zabawy*. [In:] M. Kazimierczak (ed.): *Turystyka w humanistycznej perspektywie*. Poznań 2004, pp. 32-40; M. W. Kozak: *Turystyka i polityka turystyczna a rozwój: między starym a nowym paradygmatem*. Warszawa 2009; Tomasz Sahaj: *Homo transgressivus, czyli o sportach ekstremalnych*. „Sport Wyczynowy”, 2005, No. 11-12/ 491-492, pp. 65-73, [http://www.cos.pl/sw/1112_05/65.pdf, access: 14-03-2009]; M. Szalbot: *Homo ludens w przestrzeni współczesnego miasta...* op. cit.; by the same author: *Przestrzenie ludyczne miasta – próba typologizacji*. „Zabawy i Zabawki”, 5/2007, No. 1-4/2007, pp. 103-112.

and fun, which is generally characteristic for urban consumerist societies. Globalization, which reaches big cities as the first, brings about the unification of the enjoyment places accessible there. On the other hand, the environment of a big city also offers a wide variety of ludic spaces.

Larger towns adopt new types of entertainment quickly. The increase in ludicity of urban societies' culture in the Polish environment can be illustrated, for example, by the changes which took place after 1989. West European models of spending leisure time found their followers in big Polish cities sooner than elsewhere. This gave rise to not existing earlier and specialized places of new entertainment. The exemplification can be provided by the first clubs of aikido, paintball, polo or bowling, which came into existence after 1989 in Warsaw, Cracow, Poznań, Gdańsk, Sopot and Koszalin, or their outskirts, and only later gradually spread into the provinces²⁶¹.

Modern towns, especially these which are rooted in Euro-American culture, seem to confirm that they are a space of differentiated possibilities of entertainment. Regardless the epoch and the political system, there have been spaces allowing for practicing certain games and plays in all types of towns. Establishing formal ludic spaces²⁶² in towns was a consequence of harmonizing practical, economic and cultural aspects. Over the years, the demand grew not only for a wide choice of such places, but also for attractions and innovative solutions in this field. Nowadays, big cities take part in different rankings in which the availability of sophisticated and surprising places for entertainment is highly evaluated. Being well-oriented in contemporary cultural tendencies and in the demands of the recipients (for whom the entertainment offer is prepared) makes the town authorities realize that investing in the formal urban ludic infrastructure is currently not so much a norm or need but rather an economically justified necessity. Creating the new and modernizing the existing recreation and entertainment base in towns seems to be a wide-spread phenomenon. The rise in prices of urban areas in Poland after 1989 necessitated such a situation that each piece of terrain should fully 'earn' for its maintenance. For the needs of various service and entertainment sites, the adaptation started of gates, backyards, areas situated on higher floors, and even of uninhabited and post-industrial buildings. As G. E. Karpińska notices while referring to B. Jałowiecki's thoughts, this takes place because: *In modern Europe, towns are getting rid of production space (especially industrial space), which has dominated here for the last 250 years, and they are opening the released places to consumption, especially in the field of fun and fulfilling wishes*²⁶³. The observation of changes in the lifestyle of Polish city dwellers leads to the conclusion that creating places where the consumerist community will fulfill their ludic needs is one of the best ways of managing the market

261 See: T. Czekański: *Czasy współczesne*. [In:] A. Chwalba (ed.): *Obyczaje w Polsce. Od średniowiecza do czasów współczesnych*. Warszawa 2004, pp. 389-390; W. Lipoński: *Encyklopedia sportów świata*. Poznań 2001, pp. 16-17, 336-338, 399, 79-80.

262 The notion of formal ludic spaces is treated here as the places which have been marked off the urban space and indicated for entertainment activities. They are characterized by relevant stability. More on this in: M. Szalbot: *Przestrzenie ludyczne miasta – próba typologizacji...*, .

263 G. E. Karpińska: *O centrach handlowo-rozrywkowych...*, p. 48.

value of urban areas. As early as in the nineties of the 20th century, a real crop of new entertainment places was observed: discotheques, garden coffee bars, gyms and fitness clubs, internet cafés, bowling clubs, video rentals, etc.

Apart from economic reasons, new kinds of ludic space were established also due to social transformations and the tendencies of consumerist societies towards a much bigger interest in the quality and quantity of entertainment in their daily life. This takes place as contemporary people feel satisfaction and harmony by fulfilling their needs for leisure. Marcin Piotrowski remarks that nowadays the way of managing time outside work is treated in the terms of 'individual success'²⁶⁴. Yet, Edmund Wnuk-Lipiński indicated many years ago that: *A rise (...) in the quantity of spare time brings about (...) models of life more and more oriented towards leisure time*. Individuals experience social acceptance if they can manifest the fulfillment of widely recognized needs for rest. The research confirmed that: *With the increasing living standards, broadly understood needs for rest grow faster than any other type of life needs*²⁶⁵. Modern cities 'know' what kinds and standards of ludic infrastructure are expected by their inhabitants. The town itself develops residents' growing requirements in this field. Contemporary people think that the characteristic features of urban ludic infrastructure should mainly include comfortable and easy access, wide choice and careful preparation in every detail. To a certain degree, the popularity of a new place of fun or entertainment can be predicted. Residents tend to undertake the effort of seeking new ludic attractions – for instance, vehicle owners from smaller dwelling places visit a cinema complex in a big town, instead of watching the film in a provincial cinema in their own living place. Nevertheless, most of the inhabitants assume that it is the city which should provide them with a choice of 'ready to use' places of entertainment. Modern towns have to adjust more broadly to the expectations of the consumerist society, which aims at quenching its ludic needs.

Contemporary cities provide many examples of creating entertainment places which are technologically sophisticated and expensive to maintain. What comes into being in towns or their outskirts are modern aquaparks and sports or recreation centres, where different sports and games can be played in one place. Big cities determine the standards of attraction offered by ludic spaces. This can be exemplified by the capital of France, which since 2002 has amazed the world by implementing the 'Paris Plages' project in the holiday season. The banks of the Seine in the region of the historical centre are changed into a sandy beach with beach chairs, umbrellas and other facilities and attractions. Another equally extraordinary and laborious undertaking was a seasonal skating rink on the first floor of the Eiffel Tower, established here in 2004. For six weeks Parisians and the visitors could use 200 square meters of ice situated over 50 meters above the ground. It seems that a kind of trend can be observed currently towards temporary, though not of bad quality, ice rinks or volleyball courts,

264 M. Piotrowski: *Poza pracą. Studium wybranych zagadnień czasu wolnego mieszkańców współczesnej wsi*. Łódź 1994, p. 3

265 E. Wnuk-Lipiński: *Czas wolny. Współczesność i perspektywy*. Warszawa 1975, p. 49.

established in many different attractive points of big towns. Over the recent years, such seasonal skating rinks have been present for instance in front of the Cathedral in Strasburg, at the market squares in Vienna, Amsterdam and Wrocław, or on the Sopot pier, which could be seen or heard in media. In 2008 in Wisła, another interesting example of qualitatively new ludic space was presented – the ‘Beskid Ice’, a synthetic skating rink with the area of 200 square meters and made of synthetic material which can replace ice. This allows for skating regardless the season.

Contemporary cities seek new ways of becoming attractive in the field of ludicity. Tourist and entertainment functions are often attributed even to the most important or somehow outstanding buildings in the town. They frequently offer panorama points, restaurants or discos. This can be exemplified by the most high-situated tennis court, built on a hotel roof in Dubai²⁶⁶. Such enterprises aim at creating an attractive image of the city, which in this way confirms the fact that the most fashionable and sophisticated entertainment is within easy reach here. This goal is also achieved by opening modern shopping and entertainment centres with climbing walls (which replace a trip to the mountains) or the facilities which are equipped in devices for generating artificial waves (which enable practicing surfing or canoeing indoors). For a couple of years, another attraction has been present in the tourist and entertainment offer in the towns of the Beskids – rope parks. These places for thrill-seekers offer possibilities of ‘playing Tarzan’. They are usually established in appropriately adapted forest areas, although media inform that also the rope parks arranged indoors seem to gain popularity (as the example of Starogard shows)²⁶⁷. If one has not enough time and money to go to the Hawaii or make a trip to the rainforest, unforgettable experiences wait in a visit to a tropical island covered with a giant dome, such as the one near Berlin²⁶⁸. Growing prospects of creating artificial²⁶⁹, often better (in the users’ opinions) than natural, ludic spaces can be confirmed by the newly opened, tightly isolated from local climatic environment with a huge hall, ... skiing slope in Dubai²⁷⁰. Another spectacular example of the analyzed here contemporary ludic spaces is the biggest in the world indoor beach ‘Ocean Dome’, which opened in 1993. Although this powerful investment (situated on one of the Japanese islands 300 meters from a real beach) turned out to be unprofitable and was recently closed, it has gained a noteworthy successor. As it is reported by media, a similar artificial ludic space was established in the form of an 8 hectares swimming pool (adjacent to a natural beach) - a part of the

266 This concerns the Burj Al Arab Hotel in Dubai. See: *Najwyżej położony kort tenisowy świata*. [<http://www.geekweek.pl/najwyzej-polozone-kort-tenisowy-swiate/43401/>], access: 22-04-2010]

267 See: E. Macholla: *Starogard: Park linowy w hali*. [<http://gniew.naszemiasto.pl/artykul/342146,starogard-park-linowy-w-hali,id,t.html>], access: 22-04-2010].

268 See: *Wyspa tropikalna pod Berlinem- ogólne informacje o parku*. [<http://www.parki.sunkisstravel.com/tropicinformacje.html>], access: 22-04-2010]

269 M. Nieszczerzewska: *Umiejscowiona rozrywka*. [In:]: *Karnawalizacja...*,

270 See: *Na narty do... snow-dome'u*. [http://www.skionline.pl/stacje/index.php?ids=&co=newsy&id_newsa=4798], access: 22-04-2010]

Chilean health resort of San Alfonso del Mar²⁷¹. This seems to suggest that the joint effect of funds, the chances offered by modern technologies, and invention allows for overcoming almost all obstacles. This dependence can be also illustrated by the set of artificial palm-shaped islands formed on the shelf bottom at the Dubai coastline, where luxurious hotels and other tourist attractions are planned²⁷².

Due to their unique (so far?) character and the faint impact resulting from this, the cases of ludic spaces mentioned above have only a slight influence on the nature of commonly practiced patterns of ludic behaviour. Still, these memorable media pictures of such places shape our ideas of attractions accessible in contemporary cities and also determine our expectations concerning them. Their birth confirms certain tendencies the observation of which enables forecasting the orientations in further changes of the ludic sphere of culture.

It is worth indicating a certain dependency – it seems obvious that the man seeks places and occasions for entertainment in the town; however, at the same time, the town offers more and more innovative and diverse opportunities for spending leisure time²⁷³. Thus, due to economic and cultural regards, the contemporary urban space gets permeated with places allowing for the consumption of entertainment.

Moreover, the urban society presents an unfading need of taking part in mass entertainment. The participation of numerous citizens in city feasts, parades, or concerts confirms the interest of contemporary people in celebrating the urban community in a ludic setting. Such events become even more spectacular owing to the application of the latest technological advancements into their organization. The attendance shows that cherishing old urban traditions in a ludic form or the participation in tournaments and competitions organized in market squares still seems to be an attraction for inhabitants.

Currently, a lot of attention is paid to creating the image of the town as a space in which everyone can enjoy oneself. The city has always had an aim to amaze both the inhabitants and the visitors with its wealth and uniqueness of the offered entertainment. Already in the past, a trip to a big city involved uncommon attractions²⁷⁴ and today it is especially promising in that respect. Modern consumerist society expects unforgettable experiences from the entertainment offered by the town. The fantasy and freedom in using urban space for ludic purposes is characteristic even for the authorities, which do their best to provide the residents with various games, happenings and other ludic attractions. In order to ensure the inhabitants' fun, the city hosts are ready to suspend for the time of mass entertainment the daily functions of some urban areas, even those which are significant for economic and transport reasons. As far as possibilities and financial sources can allow, particular cities aim at fulfilling the

271 *Sztuczne plaże i baseny naprawdę potrzebne?* [<http://bryla.gazetadom.pl/bryla/1,85302,4899165.html>, access: 22-04-2010]

272 See: *Palm Islands*. [http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palm_Islands, access: 22-04-2010]

273 R. Kantor: *Zabawa w społeczeństwie konsumpcyjnym...*, p. 77.

274 A. Zadrożyńska: *Homo faber i homo ludens. Etnologiczny szkic o pracy w kulturach tradycyjnej i współczesnej*. Warszawa 1983, pp. 320-321.

ludic needs of their residents by establishing appropriate places for that purpose in the urban space.

The celebrations and feasts organized in towns have always been spectacular and involved shared participation of inhabitants in the entertainment. Owing to both the application of modern technological achievements and the presence of mass media, such events become even more spectacular these days. The image of the town as a space for entertainment is being created today by media transmissions of various shows. Well-directed in each detail city jubilees, place-related parades, carnival celebrations or tournaments between partner towns are all ideal occasions to present the city to a wide public from the most festive side and, at the same time, from an illusory angle. Fireworks shows, ceremonial concerts, parades, aeroplane acrobatics or laser spectacles in the night sky of the town frequently have double audience – those who take part in the ‘live’ entertainment and the television viewers. The organizers of such mass entertainment engage growing efforts and money in preparing programmes which would really amaze and enrapture both groups of recipients. What seems to help to achieve interesting effects for media is the combination of the possibilities of modern technology and the picturesqueness of urban folklore. Big city spectacles attract a wide audience and constitute a touristy and medially attractive product, which triggers positive associations with a particular town. An especially interesting new type of ludic space is represented by entertainment places which come into being in the territories born as side effects of industrial, landscape degrading, activity of man. Recently, this has taken place even in the countries of Middle-East Europe. What becomes an interesting example of urban sport practiced in post-industrial territories is ‘turbo-golf’, which has originated lately in Germany. Also the Warsaw fans of *golf for non-snobs*²⁷⁵ insist on playing in the areas which seem to be the more attractive, the more neglected they are in fact.

Contemporary transformations of urban space also provide examples of deliberate and often costly enterprises aiming at turning the degraded urban terrain into places providing space for recreation and leisure time. This phenomenon confirms the culturally determined growing significance of ludic space against the background of other functional areas of the town. Such post-industrial urban ludic spaces can be well-exemplified by currently renovated post-industrial buildings. The West European idea for revitalization of closed down steelworks, mines, railway warehouses, docks, quarries and the areas between office blocks in the city or in its outskirts has also reached Poland. Creative architects present interesting suggestions for attributing new functions, also ludic ones, to these areas of the town which do not correspond to its modern vision. They persuade that investing in this will bring financial benefits for the town. If there is an idea and funds, revitalization may comprise almost each post-industrial area. Therefore, a slag heap of a former suburban mine or a disused gravel pit are transformed into a training rally track. In the buildings of a closed steelworks, swimming-pools are established, as well as a stage of experimental theatre or a climb-

275 See: K. Dulkowski: *Golf dla niesnobów*. „Przekrój”, 10th August, 2003, pp. 80-85.

ing wall. It is regarded that founding a new type of city parks in post-industrial areas is an excellent idea. In London or Duisburg, the revitalized industrial parks constitute a real attraction as they enable checking one's own potentialities in extreme sports. Fans of more 'static' relaxation are offered here a chance to contemplate picturesque waterfalls shimmering with all the colours of ... the water waste, the hue of which corresponds with the trees and bushes planted around²⁷⁶. In some towns situated on rivers where the banks 'frighten' the visitors with disused industrial facilities, footbridges for pedestrians and cyclists are built, which generates an interesting effect. These bridges become an axis of riverside recreational areas with a multitude of ludic attractions²⁷⁷. Such investments show the authorities' concern for increasing the aesthetic value of the urbanized space. On the other hand, they prove the awareness of the need for providing the inhabitants with attractive and pleasant places for entertainment and spending leisure time. The region of Bełchatów is another interesting case of using the potentialities of even very unusual spaces (including the industrial wastelands), which generally becomes a new orientation of modern urban culture. A slope of the slag heap, built for many years by the local mine situated 18 kilometres from the town, has been turned into a fully equipped 750 metres long skiing slope. Maybe owing to the artificial Mount Kamieńsk, Bełchatów will find its place among Polish skiing centres? Implementation of such unconventional projects seems to meet the expectations of contemporary urban consumerist societies, which unceasingly seek both new possibilities for entertainment and the places to spend spare time in a nice way.

Recapitulation

Facing in daily life various signs of the "*ludization*"²⁷⁸ of modern culture might provoke doubts whether there is no exaggeration in understanding *consumerist society as a society of entertainment, and the space in which this society exists as a big playground* (...) ²⁷⁹. This issue, which is of due interest for ethnology/anthropology, seems to require further investigation as a dilemma of contemporary culture. The examples of newly established ludic spaces, briefly discussed above, provide a lot of information about the state of contemporary culture. For researchers interested not only in describing the ludicity of consumerist societies' culture but also in understanding the existing state in order to formulate conclusions (important for both social theory and practice), modern cultural reality is *a challenge* ²⁸⁰. Familiarizing with this reality demands further systematic terrain studies and anthropological analyses.

276 *Popmoda: Parkowanie w hucie*. „Przekrój”, 5th September, 2004, p. 86.

277 Such a kind of project was also implemented on both sides of the Rhein, which separates two towns: Kehl and Strasbourg. See: A. Lipowsky: *Kehl und die Gartenschau*. 2005.

278 J. Grad: *Problem karnawalizacji kultury współczesnej...*, p. 18.

279 R. Kantor: *Zabawa w społeczeństwie konsumpcyjnym...*, p. 80.

280 *Ibid.*, p. 79.